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ABSTRACT

This booklet sets out to show why gender is important in the management of higher education institutions. It explains that organizational culture and management practices, often considered to be neutral, are in fact gender-linked. Institutional efforts towards a more efficient and effective use of human resources often fail because they are based on what is considered as gender-neutral premises. A full understanding of the fact that socially constructed responsibilities and images of women are in some cases incompatible with the existing masculine organization is necessary to promote change and achieve better use of human resources. Senior managers need to be committed to take into consideration an increased understanding of the gender nature of the problem. The fact that increasing numbers of women are working in higher education institutions makes it essential for managers to reflect on the impact of the masculine bias that prevails in some organizations on both male and female staff and its impact on organizational efficiency. Three appendixes describe interview topics, the gender-wise distribution of faculty and staff per school or center, and possible areas for reflection about gender issues. (Contains 1 figure, 3 tables, and 19 references.) (SLD)

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IIEP research and studies programme

Improving the managerial effectiveness of higher education institutions

Creating space for women

Gender-linked factors in managing staff in higher education institutions

Anna E.M. Smulders

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Creating space for women

Gender-linked factors in managing staff in higher education institutions

by

Anna Smulders

Paris 1998

UNESCO: International Institute for Educational Planning

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Preface

Over the last decade, as a result of financial stringency, combined with demands for expansion of enrolments and improved efficiency, higher educational institutions have been forced to reduce expenditure, seek new sources of funding and improve the utilization of existing resources. This has necessitated changes in the mechanisms, techniques and styles of institutional management. At the same time, higher education has had to cope with increased diversification and new types of students, including adult learners, so as to meet the changing needs of the labour market and foster closer links with industry as well as widen participation through the introduction of distance learning.

The implementation of innovation and change in institutional management, however, often faces obstacles and problems, including internal resistance, inadequate staffing or financial resources to make the change effective, or insufficient time devoted to preparing and planning for change.

It is against this background that in 1990 the IIEP launched a research programme on 'Improving the effectiveness of higher educational institutions' whose purpose was to increase understanding of the process of planning, introducing and implementing management changes in higher education institutions, in order to improve utilization of resources. The project aimed at identifying factors associated with success or failure, exploring ways of overcoming obstacles or problems, and suggesting methods to improve institutional management and increase the responsiveness of higher education institutions to changing financial, economic and social pressures.

The research programme has several components, i.e. an information base, case studies and training materials and workshops.

The case studies were a particularly important element since they were designed to identify the factors and strategies associated with successful innovation and change, and show the obstacles and problems to be overcome. This information was then subsequently used for the training materials and as a major input to the synthesis of the research programme.

Several types of innovation and change were pinpointed for particular study:

(i) Change in the organization of institutions:

- New forms of decision-making structures and information flows.
- The merger of separate institutions, departments or units.

(ii) Changes in financial management and resource allocation:

- Devolved budgeting.
- Resource generation.

(iii) Changes in educational delivery systems:

- From semester to trimester, from block to credit system, rationalization of curricula, double intakes.

(iv) Changes in staff management, including staff development and appraisal.

In total, 14 case-studies and one desk-study were carried out, three each in Africa, Asia and Latin America and five in developed countries.

The study published in this volume falls under category (i) above. By means of a qualitative analysis using the gender concept as the main explanatory factor of the differences in working conditions and the career advancement possibilities of women and men, it aims to highlight the existing barriers to equal opportunities for both sexes.

The study was undertaken in an Indian university which opened its doors to Anna Smulders for qualitative interviews with eleven academic staff members and career administrators. The extended interviews are reflected in short gender-wise specific answers to the questions posed.

The study resulted in a number of findings. Institutional change as well as changes of attitude especially on the part of senior male officers, are necessary if gender equality in the workplace is to be achieved. Awareness-raising with regard to problems which are often not even recognized, and therefore not identified as problems, is essential for all staff members. It is crucial that senior officers actively promote increased understanding of the problem.

Some of the responses of the female administrators and the female academics are particularly informative concerning the concrete reasons which explain the weak position of women in the working place: they are actually given less information (formal and informal), fewer opportunities for training, less follow-up after a training course, and so on.

It should be stressed that increased equality between men and women in the workplace is not only a question of justice. An improved climate or atmosphere (environment) will contribute to better institutional results. The workplace culture of competition might be replaced by a culture of openness, caring and curiosity if the potential of each staff member, whether male or female, was identified, understood and made operational for the benefit of the institution.

This study contributes to the fulfilling of this aim, and the results should be taken into consideration in future management planning in higher education institutions. It is obvious that this rich experience obtained in an Indian university could provide an incentive for similar research in other universities and higher education institutions.

Jacques Hallak
Assistant Director-General, UNESCO
Director, IIEP

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Anna Smulders
September 1998

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Gender-linked factors in managing staff in higher education institutions

by
Anna Smulders

This study analyses the working conditions of women in relation to the working conditions of men in a University using gender, one's socially determined role and responsibilities, as the key tool of analysis. The focus on gender relations makes it possible to gain insight into how the interaction between gender-based roles and gender-linked aspects of organizational structure and management practices produces differences in career advancement between men and women.

1. Background to the study

1.1 Introduction

Staff management aims at an efficient and effective use of human resources. However, in spite of increasing numbers of women in higher education institutions, they are mainly represented in lower-level academic and middle management positions and their participation relative to men decreases at successively higher levels.

Female representation varies from 10 to 20 per cent at the middle management level and from zero to 10 per cent at the senior

management level. Representation in the committee system follows a similar pattern, with women more likely to be members of departmental and faculty committees than on governing boards or councils. Furthermore, the career progress of women is much slower than the career advancement of men (Women in Higher Education Management, 1993).

In explaining the differences in career advancement between men and women, reference is often made to women's double responsibilities, prior-to-work socialization, or the choices women have made in education and employment. Organizational structure and processes which may lead to inequalities have been given much less attention. Organizational reality has long been viewed from a male perspective, accepting gender divisions of labour as given or as functionally necessary (Hearn and Parkin, 1983). It has been held that administration operates on meritorious principles which are gender (and also class and race) neutral. Ignoring gender considerations has had considerable implications for the development of organizational research and science and, consequently, organizational and managerial practices, such as organizational control mechanisms, organizational values, recruitment procedures, staff appraisal systems, and staff development schemes (Calas and Smircich, 1992). Organizational studies are often based on a study of male samples only but are articulated as universal theories, applicable to both men and women. Current organizational and staff management practices do not, therefore, take into account the differences between men and women working within an organization and, consequently, overlook possible specific interests of female staff. The underlying proposition for this study is that there is a systematic relationship between the gender blindness in organizational and management practices and the differences in career progress between men and women in an organization.

The study challenges the assumption that administrative arrangements within an organization are gender neutral. In order to explain this proposition, the working conditions of women (their present workload and responsibilities) have been analysed *in relation to* the working conditions of their male colleagues. The social construct of gender and the assignment of specific roles to men and to women are used as a significant tool in the interpretative analyses. The study responds to the need to gain understanding of what happens in higher education institutions with respect to gender inequities in career patterns. This is a prerequisite when aiming at a remediation of inefficiencies in current staff management processes.

1.2 Approach

In attempting to explain the unequal position of women in the workplace, researchers have generally relied on two 'explanations'. The first argues that women do not possess the skills or behavioural characteristics that are required to perform competently in managerial and leadership roles. In this context, women are characterized by traditional feminine stereotypes, such as being indecisive, passive, and too dependent. These stereotypes work against women managers in terms of their advancement to executive positions because traditionally managers have been perceived as aggressive, independent, and decisive, sex role characteristics usually associated with men (Fagenson, 1989). This perspective depends on sex role characteristics in 'defining' appropriate behaviours of managers. It creates simplified categories that mask the complexity of the meaning of gender in organizations.

Perhaps the greatest problem with this approach is its inability to move beyond 'blaming the victim', that is, the problem is perceived as an individual problem of women only (Bell and Nkomo, 1992).

The second 'explanation' argues that women are in organizational positions because there are allocative processes occurring which lead them to be appointed to or remain in positions where advancement opportunities are not readily available (Burton, 1992). The emphasis is on the organization's structural elements, such as job recruitment and entry, job assignment, relationship between formal and informal groups, training, and promotion and reward systems impeding women's entrance and advancement in the workplace (Kanter, 1977; Riger and Galligan, 1980; Fagenson, 1989). Within this perspective women, as a group, are represented as powerless victims unable to influence or decisively affect the organizations in which they work (Gerson, 1985). There is an implicit assumption that both the individual and the structure are independent factors and that there is no mutual interaction between the two (Bell and Nkomo, 1992).

This study follows a more recent explanation which links gender-centered and organisation-structure perspectives. It tests this against a qualitative database based on interviews and the analysis of relevant documentary evidence. As part of this process the study seeks to relate social, cultural, economic, and political factors to particular aspects of institutional structures and procedures. This 'gendered' analysis is not concerned with women per se, but with the social construction of gender and the assignment of specific roles, responsibilities, and expectations to women and to men. These gender-based roles, that are usually irrelevant or inappropriate to the work setting, are often carried over into the workplace (Gutek and Cohen, 1987). To examine how higher education institutions produce gender differences via their internal structures and their everyday practices, the study explored how cultural perceptions, which determine the attitudes and behaviours of individual men and women, form *barriers* to the equal participation of women in senior management (see also Goetz, 1995).

1.3 Research procedures

The interaction between gender identity and aspects of organizational structure and management practices is not easily amenable to examination via traditional survey methodologies. The questionnaire-based approaches do not capture the rich complexity of the reasons why people behave as they do within a large and constantly changing organization. Instead, an in-depth qualitative research approach, based on a detailed analysis of one-to-one interviews, was adopted in order to clarify the meanings interviewees attribute to their current professional situation and the reasons (both personal and interpersonal) that have brought them into this situation.

On the basis of literature on organizational theory, main management practices and characteristics of educational organizations have been identified. Besides these management concepts, *gender and development tools of analysis*, i.e. the gender division of work; women's multiple roles; and practical and strategic gender interests, were used to structure the interview (see Appendix 1). Additional documentary data, such as annual reports, and recruitment and promotion rules expanded and further clarified the qualitative information. The emphasis on the description and understanding of structure and processes, and of the meaning of those involved, was seen as the best means of approaching the complexities of organizational life and identifying specific aspects of the management processes and organizational structure in higher education institutions in developing countries which have the potential for differential impact upon the career progress of men and women.

As the study progressed, the descriptions and interpretative analyses moved from more tentative and hypothetical positions to a more clearly formulated understanding of the problems experienced by the target group. This was partly based on the detection of key

behaviours or events that gave meaning to the situation. The categories used to express such insights were formulated from the data and only later were they linked to existing theories.

The data presented in this study regard formal information, such as the University's statutes and the ordinances on which the gender profile of the University has been based, as well as transcripts taken of the interviews. All interviewees were asked to talk about their current professional situation from a personal perspective.

Whereas women reported about tensions between professional and personal responsibilities, men mainly talked in terms of their professional life. This explains why the citations selected are taken mainly from interviews with female staff. These citations provided useful material for the detection of key behaviours, giving direction to the analysis.

Interviews were held with both faculty and career administrators. Since the focus of the study was on male/female relations, whether interviewees were members of the academic or administrative staff was not part of the analysis. However, there was a tendency for features of organizational structure to dominate in the responses of career administrators, whereas the gendered nature of management processes was more evident in the experiences of academic staff.

2. The University

The study was based on a residential University in India, with many of the academic staff (professors, associate professors, and assistant professors) and non-academic staff living on the campus. The

University had seven Schools[1] under which more specialized units, called Centres, were placed. The University also had a specialized Centre for Biotechnology.

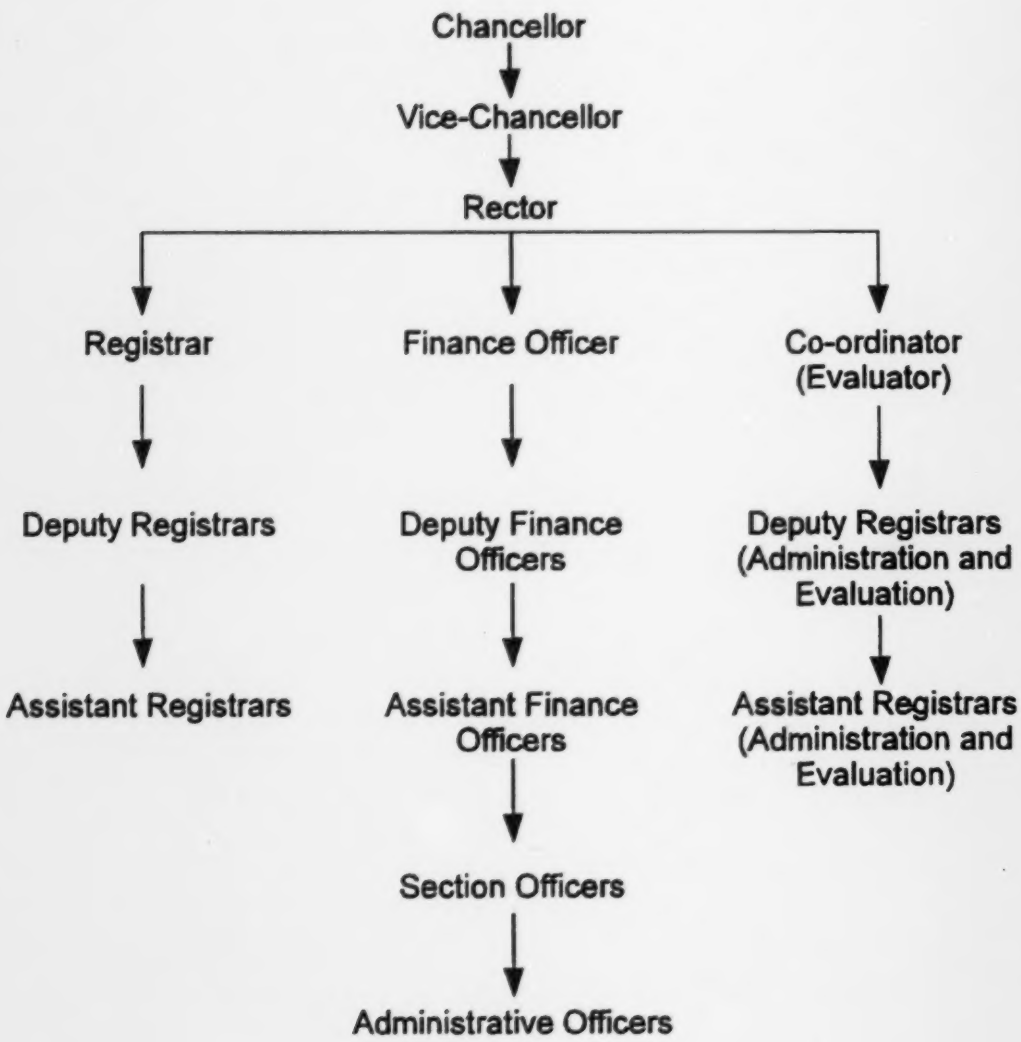
The Head of the University was the Chancellor. The Chancellor presided over the annual Court, which is the supreme authority of the University. The Vice-Chancellor was the principal executive and most senior Academic officer of the University. The Rector was the second most important administrative officer of the University.

Three decision-making bodies fell under the Court, namely the Executive Council, the Academic Council, and the Finance Committee chaired by the Vice-Chancellor. The Executive Council was the executive body of the University and in charge of the general management and administration. The Academic Council took all decisions pertaining to research and education. It was responsible for the maintenance of standards of instruction, education, and examination within the University.

The Financial Committee approved budget estimates and was responsible for financial matters. The Registrar acted as Secretary of the Court, the Executive Council and Academic Council. A Finance Officer was the Secretary of the Finance Committee.

1. School of Computer and System Sciences (SC&SS); School of Environmental Sciences (SES); School of International Studies (SIS); School of Life Sciences (SLS); School of Languages (SL); School of Physical Sciences (SPS); School of Social Sciences (SSS).

Figure 1. Administrative chart of the University



2.1 A gender profile of University staff

In 1996, the academic staff of the University included 174 professors, 123 associate professors, and 82 assistant professors, an increase of 80 faculty staff compared to 1985. The number of male staff increased by 60 persons to 295, an increase of 20 per cent. The number of female academics increased by 20 to 84, an increase of 24 per cent. Whereas the percentage of female professors and associate professors increased by 3.7 per cent and 3.1 per cent respectively, the percentage of female assistant professors decreased by 2.6 per cent, meaning that less women compared to men were recruited at the level of assistant professor. The gender gap in the composition of academic staff did not change significantly. The gender-wise distribution of the academic University staff per level is presented in *Table 1*. The gender-wise distribution of faculty staff per School/Centre is given in *Appendix 2*.

Participation in national and international conferences and research projects, as well as scientific productivity are important for the career progress of faculty staff. An analysis of the data provided in the annual report 1994-1995, did not give proof of a difference in the relative participation of male and female faculty staff in both national and international conferences, nor in research projects. However, it was noted that a limited number of women has been extremely active. For example, one female professor participated nine times and one female assistant professor five times in national conferences; only one assistant female professor participated in international conferences, but she attended three times; one associate female professor participated in six research projects.

Table 1. Gender-wise distribution of the academic University staff, 1985 and 1996

	Male				Female				Total	
	1985		1996		1985		1996			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	1995	1996
Professor	94	88.7	148	85.0	12	11.3	26	15.0	106	174
Associate professor	97	79.5	94	76.4	25	20.5	29	23.6	122	123
Assistant professor	44	62.0	53	64.6	27	38.0	29	35.4	71	82
Total	235	78.6	295	77.8	64	21.4	84	22.2	299	379

Source: Telephone Directory 1996[2].

This fact distorted the average figures on participation and scientific productivity of female staff, the majority being less active in participation in conferences. Thus, the reports in international literature that women take part less frequently in conferences, also appears to be true in this University in India, with the exception of a few active or much-requested women.

As regards scientific productivity, only a difference in relative publications of books could be found, not in relative number of published articles and chapters to books.

2. Similar data are not presented in the University's annual reports.

Administrative staff can be found in both the administrative as well as the academic side of the University. With the exception of the Registrar, all top-level administrators (Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, Rector, Proctor, Co-ordinator, Finance Officer) were male. A gender-wise overview of 'middle-level' administrative positions (deputy registrars, assistant registrars, secretaries, personal secretaries (PS), personal assistants (PA), assistant finance officers, section officers, administrative officers, and senior assistants) has been given in *Table 2*.

Administrative staff can also be found in the different Schools of the University. There are seven personal assistants to the Dean, seven administrative officers, and three section officers (see *Table 3*). Of the total of 17 'middle-level' career administrators, only two are female.

Table 2. Distribution of administrative staff by gender

Level/Designation	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Secretary to Vice-Chancellor	1				1	
Personnal Secretary (to VC, Registrar, Joint Registrar, Finance Officer, etc.)	7		2		9	
Personnal Assistant to Rector	1				1	
Section Officer	19		1		20	
Deputy Registrar, Deputy Finance Officer, Deputy Director, Deputy Librarian	16		2		18	
Assistant Registrar, Assistant Finance Officer, Assistant Director, Assistant Librarian	18		7		25	
Joint Registrar	1				1	
Administrative Officer	1				1	
Senior Assistant	1				1	
Total	65	84.4	12	15.6	77	100

Source: Telephone Directory 1996.

Table 3. Distribution of administrative staff in schools by gender

	Social science		International studies		Language		Life sciences		Computer and systems sciences		Physical sciences		Environmental sciences		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
PS to Dean	1		1			1		1	1		1		1		5	2
Administrative Officer	1		1		1		1		1		1		1		7	
Section Officer	1		1		1										3	
Total	3		3		2	1	1	1	2		2		2		15	2

Source: Telephone Directory 1996.

2.2 *Information collection*

Eleven interviews were conducted with male and female academic staff and career administrators. Faculty staff comprised associate and assistant professors. Career administrators included assistant finance officers, section officers, and administrative officers. These functions were chosen because 'middle-level' staff work under or with senior managers and they, therefore, experience the consequences of the University's staff management practices. One-to-one interviews about these experiences were expected to reveal possible gender-related aspects of practices which could influence the career progress of male and female staff.

Formal information was collected from the Registrar concerning the University's statutes, ordinances, annual reports, and recruitment and promotion rules for non-teaching posts. The gender profile of the University, given above, has been based on this information.

The process of qualitative data collection requires the full co-operation of interviewees and they must be willing to express themselves freely. Participants cannot be forced to take part. This implies that participants in qualitative research cannot be fully randomly selected. They need to be made familiar with the aims and design of the research, and with the researcher's presence during interviews. Eleven tape-recorded interviews were obtained, five interviews with academic staff and six with career administrators. The gender distribution has been given in *Table 4*.

Table 4. Gender-wise distribution of interviewees per position

	Associate Professor	Assistant Professor	Assistant Finance Officer	Section Officer	Administrative Officer	Total
Male	2	0	0	1	2	5
Female	1	2	2	1	0	6

Although only 11 people were interviewed, in-depth, one-to-one interviews took place. The information provided was rich in information on the individual's functioning in a given organizational setting. The following parts of the study are based on an analysis of the qualitative data obtained.

2.3 Organizational structure

Administrative theorists who dealt with the question of organisational structure include Fayol, Urwick and Gulick, Mooney and Reilly. The organisational structure of these classicists was one in which decision making was centralized, employees were told to 'stick to the rules' jobs were highly specialized, and employees were rarely asked to participate in decision making.

The notion of the ideal formal structure for organizations was developed by Max Weber (1947). According to Weber, in a bureaucracy, activities are divided into a large number of tasks. These tasks are linked to positions. A person occupying a certain position, knows which tasks he or she needs to do. Positions are hierarchically organized. At a certain position one is responsible for tasks at one's own level as well as for those on a hierarchically lower level. Furthermore, a position's rights and obligations are precisely defined and most often embodied in written rules and procedures. Relations between positions are mainly impersonal. These relationships are structural elements which are also formally embodied.

The problem of compliance was dealt with in terms of financial incentives, close supervision, a subordination of individual interests to those of the firm, and discipline. Although the importance of the human element is recognized, this element is best tapped by designing an efficient organisational structure.

In the University, features of the bureaucratic model are present to some degree. For example, the division of tasks, the corresponding hierarchically organized positions and offices, rights and duties of positions, are laid out in rules and procedures, and the impersonal character of relationships between positions. The following citations indicate that these features are most clearly present in the administrative side of the University.

Male administrator: "These are my duties, these are the senior staff's duties, these are the Assistant's duties, or these are the Assistant Registrar's duties. That we have, distribution of work".

Female administrator: "The University, it is arranged in so many departments, from that department it is given out to so many sections, for the convenience of the regular labour. Every section is dealing with certain things, so we are not supposed to make contacts and everything with other sections. So it is general things we can tell. There are certain things which we cannot discuss with other sections".

Female administrator: "I have to report to the deputy finance officer, he will send it to the finance officer, I get it back from the deputy finance officer".

Female administrator: "They will go up step by step, hierarchy to hierarchy to the decision-maker. After approving or disapproving it will come down, step by step".

Female administrator: "Everything you have to go through the rules only".

Male administrator: "Whenever it is given in the rules I can take the decision. Up to that level only, beyond that it is the responsibility of my superior officer".

Female administrator: "The superior officers only asked the information from us. But we were not told why they wanted that information. And so, we would give the information, and that is all. We used to give it and we used to keep quiet".

Male administrator: "Decisions taken at the higher level are minuted. Those minutes are sent to the sections concerned, to take action accordingly".

Contrary to career administrators, faculty staff enjoys a certain amount of autonomy.

Female academic: "There is much autonomy as regards the way you organize your course, you organize the timetables, in the way you conduct your course, the topics you take and the readings that you want to use. The course teacher, you know, has a lot of freedom".

Male academic: "As far as the research is concerned, we are very free. You can start working on any area of interest you like to do. We do not get instructions that you have to work on area A or area B. You decide yourself".

Male academic: "Here, teachers make their own courses which they present to the Board of Studies. The Board calls experts from outside which can make suggestions like, you can add one more lecture on this, or two more lectures on this, or, this is very outdated, you can remove, etc. But by and large it is the contribution of the person who is giving the course".

The autonomy is related to the professional competency of the academic staff (Mintzberg, 1979). However, like the administrative part of the University, the academic part is also hierarchically organized with decisions taken at the highest levels.

Male academic: ""In order to enforce these rules, and ordinances, and regulations, there are bodies. Because you cannot take decisions in a vacuum, so we have certain

bodies. So we have the highest decision-making body, what is called the Executive Council. It takes all the important decisions of the University. One below is the Academic Council, which deals only with academic matters".

Male academic: "The membership of both Executive Council and Academic Council is fixed according to the rules. So even if I aspire to be a member of the Executive Council, I cannot".

Female academic: "You cannot become a member of the Academic Council. There are rules and statutes governing the membership. Even the teachers associations are only observers, they are not members of executive committees".

When exploring gender-linked factors in managing staff, the hierarchical relations within the organization need special attention. Women are often socialized to obey males in positions of authority. This part of women's gender role is reinforced by the fact that this (economically) dependent position in the home (father/daughter, husband/wife) is congruent with the one in the workplace.

Female academic: "The status of women in the house will never be the status of the male. A man comes home, he is like a star. I go home, I am not a star".

When there is such a congruence, power differences outside the organization act as a power multiplier, enhancing the authority of male superiors in the workplace and reinforcing the dependency of females.

Female administrator: "The person before me was very strict. He used to say, no it is not yet time to go, it is still five minutes. Or, why are you leaving, it is a quarter to five only".

Furthermore, the hierarchical relationships produce certain traits of character, styles of interaction, and patterns of thinking and speaking. Ferguson (1984) argues that although these traits are generally thought of as typically 'feminine', they have very little to do with being biologically female. They have to do with learning to play the role of the subordinate in interpersonal (both private and professional) relations. Being non-assertive, dependent, attentive to others, and 'expressive' may be understood as skills necessary to cope with that subordinate status, to cope with 'a fear of inadequacy'.

> *Female academic:* "There is a fear of inadequacy, because we are just not used to being accepted for what we are. We are still seeking to be superwomen, we have to do that to become something".

> *Female academic:* "Theoretically, you can speak as much as you want in meetings. But in practical terms, I do not know what it is, but something prevents women from speaking. We do not seem to be making the points first, you never find the first questioner in any seminar being a woman. I think it is because of a feeling of, will I be hurt? There is a fear of inadequacy, because we are just not used to being accepted for what we are".

> *Female academic:* "Male colleagues make remarks which are inappropriate but they do not seem to feel any fear. Whereas I think 10 times before I say, because I want to be very clear what I am going to say. It should be proper, I want to make an important contribution, not just taking part, it is not enough for me. Therefore, you are so afraid of saying anything that the result is that you do not say anything at all most of the time. Therefore the myth persists that women decorate, or, oh, they are ok".

Behaviour of staff is often a base for performance assessment. Since the hierarchical structure of the organization influences male and female behaviour differently, it may be one of the factors linked to inequities in career patterns of men and women. Before exploring this further, the concept of gender roles will be explained. It will become clear that socially constructed gender-based roles have different implications for men and women in relation to work.

3. Gender and gender roles

> *Female academic:* "I worry about the house. My husband is equally involved but he can put it aside, he can prioritize. My house seems to be my first priority, I do not know why".
>
> *Question:* 'How did you combine taking care of your son and your professional career'?
>
> *Male academic:* "That was not a problem. It was so convenient that we were staying in this building. Opposite there was the building she used to go to for classes. Just two minutes' walk. So that helped us quite a lot"".

What is gender? Gender researchers in the 1970s (Ann Oakley and others) used gender to describe those characteristics of men and women which are *socially* determined, in contrast to those *biologically* determined.

Essentially, the distinction between sex and gender is made to emphasize that everything women and men do, and everything expected of them, with the exception of their sexually distinct functions (childbearing and breastfeeding; impregnation) may change, and does change over time and according to changing and varied social and cultural factors. In other words, people are born female or male, but they *learn* to be girls and boys who grow into

women and men. They are taught what the appropriate behaviour and attitudes, roles and activities are for them, and how they should relate to other people. This learned behaviour is what makes up their gender identity, and what determines gender roles.

Understanding gender differentiation and gender discrimination also helps to understand differentiation and discrimination on other grounds such as race, class, ethnic background, and age. Conversely, awareness of discrimination on other grounds makes one more sensitive to gender discrimination. Because of this awareness, social analysis becomes more perceptive and social interventions more finely tuned.

In relation to work, the social construction of differentiated gender roles has profound implications for men and women. In most societies both women and men have roles related to production and public life. However, the tasks associated with the reproduction of society (ensuring that basic needs at the family and household level are met, that homes and children are maintained and cared for) are almost entirely carried out by women. One of the results of women's double gender role is that, the world over, women have longer working days than men and, consequently, less free time for themselves.

When discussing out-of-work responsibilities female interviewees mentioned their reproductive tasks, whereas male interviewees mentioned committee memberships, attending workshops, going abroad. Household or child-care tasks did not spring to men's minds when discussing this topic. None of the interviewees questioned the existing gender division of labour.

> *Female academic:* "But your other responsibilities in life are the daily ones which are really part of you of course".

Female academic: "My son comes back after two o'clock, so I am home by two".

Female administrator: "I have to go to the market also, and cooking, and serving, two children, everything I have to do".

Female academic: "My husband has long working hours. He therefore needs a very efficient home which he does not get if his wife does not take care of household tasks either".

Male administrator: "You prepare the promotion test in the evening hours because you cannot prepare in the office. Your wife has to support you in taking the test, so she takes care of the house"".

Where women have been successful in gaining professional positions, they frequently face cultural barriers in the form of their own internalized views of their roles and the expectations which others have of them. Therefore, it is extremely difficult for professional women *not* to consider their family to be their primary responsibility. They suffer great tension in attempting to reconcile their traditional and their professional functions. Men, on the contrary, may regard their work and career as primarily important because tasks associated with the reproduction of society are not considered to be their key responsibility. Their time constraints are only linked to getting to the workplace on time and wasting time in traffic jams.

Female academic: "There are hidden levers which operate on you. One of them is to have meetings at times which are terribly inconvenient to you. They do not understand that I have to be home at four o'clock when my children come from school".

Female academic: "If computer courses are held at a time when your children are coming back, you would, naturally, not go for this programme. You go home and look after the children".

Male academic: "For promotion you need a good publication record, done a good piece of research work, guided PhD students, written books, delivered lectures, participated in international meetings, you have got some awards, you were involved in developing a specialized laboratory, a specialized new programme, sit on different committees".

Question: 'Do you have time for all that'?

Male academic: "For sure, there is no problem, I get this time. The good thing is that this is a residential University so we do not waste time commuting. We can come here sharp at nine o'clock, no problem. We can stay here a little longer if necessary because you are not worried that there will be traffic jams".

Consequently, men, contrary to women, do not have to balance decisions regarding staying on longer at the workplace, training programmes, committee memberships or participating in (inter)national conferences against care-taking responsibilities.

Female academic: "My husband has been away for eight years. It interfered with my capacity to participate in seminars and conferences. I could never take up any invitation to go to a lecture outside the University. To go for one or two days, it becomes a problem, you know, when you have a young family and there is no one to be with them".

The social construction of gender roles has not only profound implications in relation to the assignment of productive and reproductive tasks and responsibilities. Gender roles also include notions about appropriate behaviour and form part of one's (self) image. For example, in India, informal contacts with colleagues after meetings or conferences are considered appropriate behaviour for males whereas it is considered inappropriate behaviour for females. Thus, certain organizational behavioural practices, compatible with male behaviour, are incompatible with the role expectations of women.

> *Female academic:* "Because I do not want to be known as a cocktail-circuit person".

> *Female academic*: "Even single girls cannot do it, because they have other problems if they sit around with somebody".

The incompatibility between what is considered appropriate female behaviour and behavioural practices in the organization might influence the career advancement of women in a negative way. Firstly, men can easily establish a network of researchers through informal contacts whereas women are hampered in doing so. Not only do women, therefore, lack an important means of getting new information and feedback, they also remain excluded.

> *Male academic:* "Through a network of relationships you get to know the people, people get to know you. But provided you are there too. If you are not, if you don't respond at all, if you don't participate, if you don't invite people, if you don't go, then you remain excluded".

The differences in male and female roles and in the expectations which others have of them may explain the difficulties women have in meeting certain organizational requirements.

> *Female academic:* "So (because computer courses are held at an inconvenient time for women), you do not find many women getting used to computers. Therefore, because you are not exposed to computer training, you get behind. You have started at the same point, but you are slipping, you are not fulfilling the criteria of computer knowledge. So theoretically you are not discriminated, you are just not able to give an A+ product. When the decision was made for the post, I agreed with the A+ criteria. So now I cannot complain".

Gender-based roles are carried over into the workplace, where they determine female and male professional behaviour. In the workplace professional behaviour is interpreted, judged and valued according to organizational standards. Although these standards are supposed to be neutral, they are gendered in nature. Therefore, the interpretation and evaluation of women's behaviour will be different from that of men. How organizational standards became gender biased will be explained when discussing the identification of performance criteria (management practices). But first the masculine bias in organizational culture will be examined.

4. Organizational culture

Organizations, including schools and universities, have been conceived and constructed by men and have historically been dominated by men. Masculinity as an organizational issue, however, is ignored in the literature on management. The result is that the masculine bias in most organizational structures, norms, and practices is *invisible* and that masculine aspects of professional culture are taken for granted.

Men who enter organizations are readily accepted into the existing informal networks which serve to bond males. Whereas men

fit in, women enter organizations as 'the other' and they often find it difficult or impossible to socialize with males in a semi-formal work-related context. Women, therefore, feel or are excluded from informal groups. The social distance women experience because of their sex isolates them from their male colleagues. Furthermore, women face pressures to conform to male bureaucratic structures and norms, to speak and behave in the rational, linear modes that constitute the way of life in bureaucracies. Socialization into this context enables men but disenables women.

> *Male academic:* "Scientists are accessible, you can talk to them, you can tell them what is your expertise, then they will guide you, how to apply for funding, various sets of formats, you have to write your project in that format".
>
> *Female academic:* "I have noticed that women are commented upon, like 'oh, she is not very ...', the reactions are very personalized. I find that very unacceptable, why do they not look at me professionally"?
>
> *Female academic:* "I never felt that it is an institution which looks after my research or my interests. I don't think it is an institution which I am really comfortable with".
>
> *Female academic*: "Women tend to take a softer side, and soft answers, simply because we want to avoid confrontation. Because women do not take hard positions you are seen as a person who is not original, who does not initiate".

Women often feel alienated from this masculine working environment. This isolation (which can be experienced not only because of sex but also because of race, background, religion, age, etc.) hampers women from socializing into the organization since the primary basis for socialization is interaction. New meanings,

behaviours, skills, and beliefs are learned through 'association', i.e. through the exchange of ideas, support, and positive feelings about one's work.

> *Male academic:* "In the academics, when you are junior, you learn through discussion, through associations, contacts, joint papers, joint research projects, sharing. You have people who only associate with certain kinds of people, maybe from their region, maybe from their background. Through such association you can learn more. You learn how to teach and how to conduct research from your seniors, it gradually comes up. People prefer to associate, to work on a common paper or research project, with people from their own religion or region or social group. If you are all alone, you get tired, afraid, isolated. Initiatives do not go beyond sharing of literature. Signing a joint research project, deciding on a joint paper, go to this seminar, or I recommend your name, these kind of things do not come through if you are not associated with somebody".
>
> *Question:* 'What facilitated your career progress?'
>
> *Male academic*: "One thing is that you are in the company of good academicians, so you learn quite a lot from them. One is the demonstration effect. You can see that this 54 year old publishes a lot, so I should publish, he has applied for a research project, so I should take his lead and write a proposal. So through association you get to know and you learn and you imitate it. There are many people who go for such imitation".

Here the importance of 'association' as regards organizational learning is well illustrated. It is also clear that individuals may be hampered in becoming associated with a senior staff member. For

women it is difficult to associate with a senior male colleague because this is not considered appropriate within the Indian society. Furthermore, whereas learning by imitation is possible for males, the imitation of male professional behaviour by women (if indeed possible) might not be positively recognized or appreciated. Without female networks women have no mechanism which facilitates their insertion into the organization.

The masculinity in organizations is continuously confirmed by taking masculine ways of behaving and values for granted. Active confirmations of masculinity are unfamiliar to women, who are made to feel uncomfortable when subjected to 'laddish' behaviour. It frequently occurs in common rooms and formal meetings, where jokes and 'double entendres' are repeatedly employed to 'lighten the mood' (Nicholson, 1996). Women are not likely to feel at home with such male communication patterns and male humour which determine the culture of organizations.

> *Female academic:* "In meetings, if they make a sexist remark and they will say, oh, she does not like it, you know, ha, ha, it was a joke. We have to deal with it, which is difficult because you can not even pin it down. Because if you pin it down you lack humour, they blame you. And there is no redress at all. So you feel apologetic when you talk about gender, you feel apologetic if you want to raise questions related to women".

> *Female academic:* "Women are not taken seriously. We often get comments like... the (female) chairperson is told, you should have made a cake and brought it for this meeting".

5. Management practices

Assessment practices

In order to achieve a senior position in an organization the individual has to cross a variety of boundaries, each crossing marked by some process of assessment. These include the assessment procedure for initial selection into the organization and the subsequent assessment practices, formal and informal, both ongoing and located in specific events. Career administrators mentioned, for instance, promotion or departmental tests, and annual confidential performance reports.

The ordinance of the University related to the career advancement of faculty staff indicates that assistant professors are eligible for promotion to the post of associate professor after (a) completion of 16 years of service, (b) proven attainment in research and scholarly work evidenced by the quality of publications, contribution to educational innovations, design of new courses and curricula, and (c) having been recommended by a selection committee. An associate professor is eligible for promotion to full professorship after (a) completion of eight years of service, (b) evidence on research work done in this period (books, monographs, conference proceedings, published papers in academically recognized journals), (c) guidance of Mphil/PhD students, (d) teaching and development of academic programmes, (e) development of research infrastructure, (f) awards, fellowships, invited lectures, and (g) having been recommended by a selection committee.

Assessment criteria

In order to identify the criteria of assessment one seeks out job 'experts', individuals who are very familiar with the job and its demands. Clearly, this often includes current job holders and usually

their superiors. These people describe the qualities and skills involved and give examples of effective and ineffective behaviours. In the case of senior (management) posts those who determine the criteria are likely to be male. Women are less likely to be in senior management positions and are, therefore, not solicited for their views on the qualities, abilities, and skills of senior posts. Criteria elicited from a solely, or predominantly, male sample are more likely to assess for qualities relating to this group, and gender biases will be embedded in the assessment process (Alimo-Metcalfe, 1994).

This gender bias may be recognized in the implicit assumptions of the value of male and female characteristics. Characteristics traditionally more likely to be associated with women than with men (subjective, emotional, supportive, attentive to others, non-assertive, and 'expressive') tend to be devalued compared to 'male' characteristics (objective, rational, independent, competitive, and 'instrumental').

Being mainly based on male perspectives, performance criteria are often linked to an individual's physical and social capability of being free from child-care and domestic responsibilities. Examples of such criteria are time devoted to work at the workplace, being present at meetings, and participation in national and international conferences.

> *Male academic*: "You can see that senior colleagues come at nine o'clock and go at five o'clock. You see them working hard, so you should work hard. It is the demonstration effect".

This man was able to copy the (male) senior colleague's behaviour of hard working which corresponds with the organizational definition, i.e. being at the workplace from nine to five. The double responsibilities of women impede an imitation of (male) professional

behaviour. Women need to come up with their own definitions of 'hard working'.

> *Female academic*: "I come here in the morning, I go back for the afternoon. You are expected to be here about 40 hours. That is up to you, you have a certain freedom over here. Because my son comes back after two o'clock, so I am home by two. In the evening and after lunch I can work, at home".

Because of her family responsibilities this women has to be at home at certain hours. To be able to combine both her traditional and professional role she may have altered the 'male' definition of 'being *here* about 40 hours'. She interprets 'being here' not as being physically present at the workplace, but in terms of being productive. Being productive is compatible with working about 40 hours because she can work, i.e. be productive, at home. However, this definition of 'working hard' differs fundamentally from the definition generally used by organizations and may not be given the same value or it may not even be recognized and appreciated.

Thus, although formal assessment practices and performance criteria are supposed to be gender neutral they reflect the male pattern of continuous employment, high workload which frequently overlaps into family life, age requirements (that can only be achieved without interruptions for child rearing) and freedom to be geographically mobile (NEDO/RIPA, 1990).

This masculine bias results from the fact that organizational studies, which are often based on a study of males only, are articulated as *universal* theories, applicable to both men and women.

Staff development

The purposes of a staff development scheme are to help

individual staff to develop their careers within the institution; improve staff performance; identify changes in the organization or operation of the institution which would enable individuals to improve their performance; identify and develop potential for promotion; and improve the efficiency with which the institution is managed. Training schemes, preparation for promotional tests, research leaves, and sabbatical years, either automatic or depending on the research project, form part of such a staff development plan. Research indicates that men and women are dealt with differently as regards applications for career development schemes because expectations of them are different (Burton, 1992).

Career administrators of both sexes pointed out that over the last 10 years, opportunities to attend training programmes have been extremely limited. However, men reported on having had the opportunity to attend training programmes or having been encouraged to take promotional tests. Women mentioned explicitly and repeatedly that requests for training were turned down.

> *Female administrator:* "Sometimes I feel frustrated. Because even after I have been doing so much over, done such things, but I am not the senior. I have not been given the promotion. The superior officer has to nominate the person to go. Because of my very demanding work here, I am not sent. Even if I want to attend some training or some workshops, they send somebody else, some administrator".

> *Male administrator:* "And to prepare these promotion tests, I get books and these things, periodicals or whatever procedures, the University helps. That we get from the University, and we are ready then to take the test".

> *Male administrator:* "Training is there. I have attended two or three training programmes. I feel that training is a must. It

happened that I could go to that University, for attending a training course".

Female administrator: "They did not allow us to go and take some training. If they had taken some interest, definitely, at least my earlier life would have changed. If he would have allowed me to go, then I would have pursued some more courses. Some other person was sent to some other area of training. This was not useful to him. And we were never sent for any training. It was, oh, no, you are already trained, you know, you know everything. Last week there was some training. I applied, then my boss had forwarded it. But they said, no, you know everything, why do you want to go there? Still I want to find out if they are right, if I really know too much. But sometimes I think that training is a must, that we should be sent".

Scientific productivity

Promotion in academic life depends above all on the amount and quality of published work. Teaching ability has a lesser importance. Mobility is important in relation to scientific productivity because of the relationship between number of contacts with other researchers and scientific production either through formal academic bodies or learned societies, or through informal contacts. The informal contacts may be with colleagues outside the department which gives access to new information, results and ideas before they originate in print in journal articles or books. There are informal networks, so called 'invisible colleges', which have leading scientists as 'members' and where information is exchanged through personal letters, telephone calls, informal meetings, and post-seminars. The exchange of information is important because of the feedback colleagues may provide. Also, studies report on some evidence that frequent exchange of information, discussions and social interaction among

scientists working in research groups and departments stimulate productivity.

> *Female academic:* "One of the problems with seminars is that I find it very difficult to become familiar with a man's first name. I take a little time. Oh, but the next seminar, two men who met have already progressed a bit. I have not progressed. Because I do not write to him. I do not keep in touch with him. I have other things to do, maybe, or whatever... Of course I will be friendly with the male colleagues but it is a professional, formal friendship. I would not invite him home. So, the building of these contacts, then, really becomes a little ...".

In comparison the following citation from a male faculty staff member.

> *Male academic*: "It was not difficult to establish relationships. Because, you know, we know people, we sit on different committees, we know each other, and then you can communicate with them very fast through electronic mail, and fax and those things, it was very easy. For example, I chair a manpower committee of an Indian consortium in my field of expertise. And I sit on the committee of a Ministry department related to my field of expertise. So there, you know, people meet each other, they know each other, it helps to understand each other".

Thus, whereas men have all the possibilities of establishing informal contacts or attending committees, women are hampered in doing the same because of expectations and role relationships linked to their sex. As pointed out earlier, being a cocktail-circuit person is not seen as acceptable behaviour for women. These gender-related limitations might explain the fact that female interviewees seemed to

be less well informed than their male colleagues on rules and procedures regarding the allocation of funds, grants, etc. Being less well informed has an impact on access to good scientific equipment, research opportunities, seminars, foreign travel, the availability of a well-qualified technical staff, and access to financial resources for project work, which are in many disciplines prerequisites for scientific productivity.

> *Question*: 'How is it decided who gets funds for which kind of activity?'
>
> *Female academic:* "Actually I am not able to answer that question because I don't know, you will have to ask the administration how it is decided. I don't know how it is decided".
>
> *Male academic:* "I am a member of the purchase committee. My request has never been turned down, not only because I am a member, but I have learned the system. I know how to present my case so that it works".
>
> *Female academic:* "Getting grants for faculty improvement programmes, conferences, attending conferences and attending some sorts of seminars and workshops is a school-level decision. Often there has not been enough money to go around, so you do get mad. Any time I apply, how come the grants are not available? How come it was available earlier? But then you have this funny rule which is first come, first served. In the sense that if you apply in time, and yours is the first application, you get a favourable consideration. But nobody seems to know what sort of rules govern this in fact. Because when I did enquire, I was told that there are no more school grants available. And then I found that somebody has gone somewhere, and some other group, I mean, some

seminars were held, and so on".

Question: 'How do you think these resources are allocated, then'?

Female academic: "We have no information on resource allocation. This is a very closed secret and we are not privy to any of these decisions at all".

Powerful are those who control or are able to influence the distribution of material resources. The citations illustrate existing power differences by gender stemming from differences in access to information and decision-making positions.

6. Interaction between gender roles, organization, and management practices

Next, inequalities in career patterns of male and female University staff will be explained. This will be done by exploring the *interaction* between gender-based roles and identities, gender-linked factors in the organizational structure, and gender-linked factors in management practices.

First, as explained, society assigns different roles, responsibilities, and expectations (appropriate behaviour) to men and women. These different gender identities are carried over into the workplace and may explain differences in professional behaviour of male and female staff.

The second gender-related factor concerns the hierarchical structure of the organization which reinforces female subordination because women are often socialized to obey males in positions of authority. The asymmetrical gender relations which spring from the domestic area are, therefore, constituted in the workplace where they

enhance the authority of male superiors but reinforce the dependency of females.

The third factor regards the masculine bias in organizational culture (norms and values) and management processes (performance procedures and criteria). However, ways of thinking and talking about organizational realities are as though they were gender neutral, taking the masculine aspects of the professional environment for granted.

Difficulties in performance (and therefore gaining senior positions) are often attributed to women's dual responsibilities as wife/mother and professional women and to female characteristics (which make up women's role and identity).

> *Female academic:* "Taking on the family responsibilities are the invisible barriers for us to reach a higher potential. Because I cannot perform very well if I stayed up the whole night with a coughing child, I cannot do it".

> *Female academic*: "Because women do not take hard positions then you sound like a follower rather than a leader, and once that status of a follower, it is very difficult to translate that into leadership".

However, such an explanation only takes into account one of the three factors identified above and overlooks the interrelation between them. Both gender roles and organizational hierarchy determine the professional behaviour of men and women. However, the value of professional behaviour in terms of performance is assessed against organizational standards which are not gender neutral but male biased. Whereas male characteristics have become highly valued, female traits have been devalued. Against masculine norms, what may be considered as a quality (not being confrontational) gets a negative connotation, 'being a follower rather than a leader'.

Thus, the socially constructed gender role of women becomes a problem because performance criteria have been defined from a male point of view. They are, therefore, linked to being free of child-care and domestic responsibilities, and they do not value female attributes (see Management practices).

> *Female academic:* "My male colleague has 16 publications on his record and I have only six. How am I going to fight this? On what grounds can I talk about discrimination"?
>
> *Question*: 'Can you identify the reasons why you produced 10 publications less'?
>
> *Female academic*: "I can, but who is going to listen to me? The criteria that are made indicate that the more publications the better it is for you. You knew that when you joined, did you not? So why did you not do it"?
>
> *Female academic:* "There are hidden levers which operate on you. One of them is to have meetings at times which are terribly inconvenient to you. And you do not want to say each time that it is inconvenient to you. You would have liked to have been asked first. If you are asked, what time suits you, then I can tell you, and you fix meetings as per the schedules of everybody and everything. Sometimes it looks like the women are making excuses. 'Women always seem to be having problems' is an expression that comes out of an inability to function on certain time schedules. But they do not see the reason for those inabilities. They do not understand that I have to be home at four o'clock when my children come from school. I just have to be home. And then, most women are still not mobile. We have not even had the economic independence to think of buying cars. So how do you expect me to go home and come back in 10 minutes?

I cannot do it".

Question: 'But cannot you point out to the people who decide at what time there will be a meeting that it is not a convenient time for women because of these reasons?'

Female academic: "It has been pointed out, but then, while appreciating the difficulty, there is always the rule of majority requirement. And there you have the whole problem in a husk, because women are not in the majority! Thus, four or five colleagues have to meet, four of them find it is suitable, and you are the only one who is not finding it suitable. They are willing to adjust, so you cannot even say that they are not willing to, but they are saying 'look at her'. Look at the logic of this. And you know, you will never get it because there are not going to be four women against one man. It is just not going to arise. Of course, theoretically you have the option of not attending meetings when it does not suit you. But look at the impression it creates. If you are not seen properly at several meetings the impression grows, you know, 'she always has a problem'. This is what I am talking about, invisible levers that work against you".

7. Strategic gender interests

Organizations are unresponsive to women's practical gender needs such as creche facilities and flexible working hours, which may facilitate reconciling both their functions. By ignoring the gender differences, the organization does not provide the same 'enabling environment' for women as it does for men. On the contrary, the organizational setting and working environment enables men and disenables women. The equal application of organizational criteria without taking into account the differences in male and female gender roles impedes the career opportunities for women. It is not only the

mere fact that women's gender role includes both productive and reproductive tasks which hampers their career opportunities. Hence, the distortion of female career patterns is linked to the incompatibility of masculine organizational procedures and practices with gender-linked functions and expectations of women.

Addressing the practical gender interests of women may be a first step in tackling inequities in male and female career patterns. However, practical interests are derived from the living conditions of women and men and are related to the time invested in various productive, reproductive, and social tasks and responsibilities. *In themselves they are unlikely to change unequal aspects of gender relations.*

Practical gender interests vary depending on the class or age group to which the women belong and if practical needs are not seen within the context of strategic interests, addressing them in isolation can actually worsen women's situation in the long term. When aiming at remediating the gendered nature of organizations, the focus needs to be on *strategic gender interests* which are derived from the wish to change the unequal relations between men and women in order to improve the position of women.

A first strategic gender interest is the recognition that problems faced by professional women are structural and not individual. Through socialization, girls and boys internalize their gender-based roles. Furthermore, the stereotypes regarding femininity and masculinity are continuously reinforced through the media, advertisements, books, films, etc. Not only men, but women too perceive the dilemmas professional women face as an individual problem. Therefore, women are blamed and they blame themselves for not performing on the same professional level as male colleagues.

> *Female academic:* "I would be interested in attending seminars outside the University. But that is a problem from the family side, it is because of the family. I do not discuss it any more. I do not see it as... neither do some of my colleagues, my seniors. It is a personal problem".

A second strategic gender interest is the change of management style from dominance to coalition building. Rosener (1990) found significant differences in leadership styles between men and women. The men were more likely to adopt 'transactional' leadership styles, that is exchanging rewards or punishment for performance. Also, men were more likely to (mis)use the power that came from their organizational position and formal authority. Women, on the other hand, were more likely to use 'transformational leadership', that is motivating others by transforming their self-interest into the goals of the group, and to use 'interactive leadership' styles by encouraging participation, sharing power and information and enhancing people's self-worth. Women were also much more likely than men to ascribe their power to personal characteristics such as charisma, interpersonal skills, or personal contacts rather than to organizational stature. Women as leaders were found to believe that people performed best when they felt good about themselves and their work, and tried to create a situation that contributed to that feeling.

> *Female academic:* "I care a lot about them in the sense that I see to it that their lunch breaks are not timed. If they want to go somewhere and they inform me I work the schedules out for them so that they do not have to take leave. And if there is a real, genuine problem, I try not to intrude until the crisis in their lives is over. I feel if they are more comfortable in the job, they will do a better job for me. Not just coming here and sitting from nine to five, I have a different approach. I do not care about the nine to five thing. I enforce it so that people do not run off in the afternoon. But if

somebody says 'my child is sick and I need to take her to the doctor', I do not say you need to take leave. I say, go, just go, it does not matter. In return, when I am not there, I expect you to also take the commitment for running the hostel. Do not take decisions only when the warden is there, be able to manage, I will teach you. The final responsibility will be mine, if anything goes wrong, that is my headache. But, to keep things running smoothly I need your co-operation".

A third strategic gender interest, closely related to the aforementioned, is a change in organizational control mechanisms. In general, hierarchical relations within institutions as well as management strategies are means to exert power *over* others. Such practices reinforce control mechanisms to which women are subjected in other areas of society also. This reinforces their dependency. Women, however, prefer to use their power as power *with* others (Adler, Laney, and Packer, 1995). Female management strategies such as information sharing, and immediate and critical feedback, seem to have a positive impact on the performance and self-confidence of women. The next citation shows that supportive management styles can be practised by men as well.

Female administrator: "My boss is very, very supportive. Because he has made us... he gives us opportunity, because after here in the office, he allows us to go to some committees, this committee, that committee, which have never gone out of the section officer's handling, because earlier officers, they used to keep all the power to themselves, they were not allowing us to go anywhere, they just said, ok, you give us this main information, that is all. But when my new boss came, he has given us some power, like signing cheques, passing bills... So with that, there is additional responsibility. I know what I am doing, I am responsible for this. And you will be much more careful, you

will see to it and everything, is it not so? It is not a real clerical job. So with that, only that experience, we come up. And our mental, this thing also, development takes place".

Whereas hierarchical relations reinforce women's dependent position, too little professional demand does not seem to change the unequal position either. For women to prioritize over household tasks they need to be encouraged to take up public responsibilities such as delivering lectures, committee memberships, travelling abroad, etc.

Female academic: "I think the reason women manage to combine it with a home life for as long as they do, is precisely because the University demands so little of you... as a profession, we are not professionalized, you know"?

Female academic: "The only way we can break the feeling that we have to go through the household work first is to take on public responsibilities because no one wants to go public and look like a failure".

Stimulating women in their public responsibilities may contribute to altering the unequal power relations between men and women. If this relation becomes more equal, either at home or at the workplace, it has an enormous effect on women's self-image and, consequently, on their professional functioning.

Female academic: "I took the step of joining the general elections for the teachers association this time. Having gone, for this long, I could not back off. If I do not take part in decision-making bodies then I am not going to be able to enforce what views I have.
And I am coming out very strongly".

8. Findings and policy issues

8.1 Findings

Universities, like many organizations, have been conceived and constructed by men and have historically been dominated by men. Nowadays, increasing numbers of women are working in higher education institutions. This makes it essential for human resource managers to reflect on the impact of the masculine bias which prevails in most organizations, its effects on male and female staff, and its impact on organizational efficiency.

This study has helped to understand how the University's internal structure and everyday practices produce gender differences in career patterns. In explaining the unequal position of women, the study related social, cultural, economic and political factors to particular aspects of the organizational structure and processes. It went beyond a simple analysis of the situation of female staff (their present workloads and responsibilities). Instead, the working and personal conditions of women were analysed *in relation to* the conditions of their male colleagues. Gender, one's socially determined role and responsibilities, was the key tool of analysis. While the findings of the study are in no way prescriptive, they will lead to a more efficient and effective use of human resources by addressing the unequal position of professional women.

While people are born female or male, they *learn* to be girls and boys who grow into women and men. They are taught what the appropriate behaviour and attitudes, roles and activities are for them, and how they should relate to other people. In most societies both women and men have roles related to production and public life. However, household and caring tasks and family responsibilities are almost entirely carried out by women. Through socialization, men

and women internalize their gender-related roles. It is, therefore, extremely difficult for women *not* to consider their family to be primarily their responsibility and to assign priority to professionalism.

Professional women face dilemmas when they attempt to reconcile their traditional and professional functions. Because of internalized views, not only men, but women too, perceive these dilemmas as an individual problem. Therefore, women are blamed and they blame themselves for not performing on the same professional level as male colleagues. A first finding of the study is that *problems faced by professional women are structural.* This goes beyond the common notion that it concerns problems of individual women only.

The study found that *female responsibilities and images are incompatible with the existing (masculine) organization.* As explained, organizational culture and management practices have been built by men. The spatial and temporal arrangements of work, as well as the rules prescribing workplace behaviour, do not correspond with the identity and responsibilities of an increasingly important part of the professional staff.

This incompatibility explains *the differential impact of the organizational structure, culture, and management practices on men and women.* Women are often socialized to obey males in positions of authority. This part of women's gender role is reinforced when the dependent position in the home (father/daughter, husband/wife) is congruent with the one at the workplace. Hierarchical relations at the workplace, therefore, enhance the authority of male superiors and it reinforces female dependency.

Also, hierarchical relations within institutions, as well as management strategies, are means to exert power *over* others. Such practices reinforce control mechanisms to which women are also

subjected in other areas of society and they, thus, disempower women. Women prefer to use their power as power *with* others. Female management strategies such as working collaboratively and co-operatively, information sharing, and immediate and critical feedback, seem to have a positive impact on the performance and self-confidence of women.

Leadership styles between men and women also differ. Men are more likely to exchange rewards or punishment for performance. They are also more likely to (mis)use the power that comes from their organizational position and formal authority. Women, on the other hand, are more likely to motivate others by transforming their self-interest into the goals of the group, and to use 'interactive leadership' styles by encouraging participation, sharing power and information and enhancing people's self-worth. However, the traditional bureaucratic organization may be antagonistic to female management styles, i.e. working collaboratively and co-operatively, and sharing power.

8.2 Policy issues

The findings of the present study are rich in implications for action by those in charge of higher education institutions. First, if one aims at a more equal and competency-based advancement of women into management positions, as well as an efficient and effective use of human resources, the mere recruitment and appointment of women in the organization is not enough. *By recognizing that the incompatibility between masculine organization and female responsibilities and images is a structural problem, the need to combine the appointment of women with alterations in the organizational culture and common management practices becomes evident.* This may be a more effective way of enhancing women's position than the recruitment of women only.

Second, whereas the unequal position of women at the workplace has often been explained by women's incapability to meet organizational requirements, the findings of the study point to the necessity to adapt the organizational setting to women's needs instead of demanding the opposite. This is not done by lowering professional requirements; on the contrary, it is done by augmenting professional demand and responsibilities. Women need to be encouraged to take up public responsibilities such as delivering lectures, committee memberships, travelling abroad, etc. This may contribute to altering the unequal power relations between men and women. If this relation becomes more equal, either at home or at the workplace, it will have an enormous effect on women's self-image and, consequently, on their professional functioning.

8.3 Creating space for women

Gender biases are implicit within the rules and practices of institutions and male privilege is assured through routine organizational procedures. Conflicts of male and female interests may be suppressed not only from the decision-making agenda, but also from the consciousness of the various parties involved. Gender relations are kept in place because the actors involved, both dominant and subordinate, subscribe to social and organizational reality. In order to address unequal gender relations, organizations need to create space for women to identify their own gender interests. This will position women as competent actors who are capable of articulating priorities and taking responsibility.

This study, therefore, does not present a list of 'solutions' applicable to all higher education institutions. The areas of reflection given in Appendix 3 may structure a discussion within the Indian University. However, these areas are based on the strategic gender interests of female University staff and cannot be generalized. Instead, this study needs to be seen as an example of how

organizations may create scope for women to identify their gender interests. By including those interests in the decision-making process, organizational rules, practices, and priorities can be reconsidered in the light of women's experience, a prerequisite when aiming at sustainable improvements in the position of women in relation to men.

Appendix 1
Interview topics

Organizational structure and hierarchical positions

1. Could you give me an idea of where you (your position) and your department are placed within the overall University structure (how are the various University bodies, departments, positions within departments placed in relation to each other)? How is the University managed? Who or which University bodies have the formal decision-making power? What is the role of the various University bodies?
   Who are members of the Court or Senate, the Executive Council, and the Academic Council? How do you become a member of a University body?

2. How many organizational ranks/levels are available for promotion for you?

3. What are your career expectations? Would you say that men and women have equal career opportunities?

Job history

4. How did you reach your present position?

5. Have you been supported by your family in your career progress? If yes, in what way and by whom? Are you career minded, ambitious? Where does that come from?

Out-of-work responsibilities

6. What are your main family tasks/responsibilities? Have they been a barrier or obstacle in reaching your present position? How did you overcome them, how do you manage to combine family and professional duties?

7. As regards your promotional prospects, would you say that your family responsibilities interfere? cause difficulties? For instance, in relation to promotion criteria? (mobility or membership of university committees).

8. How would you describe your spouse's attitude to your professional development and household tasks?

University management practices

9. How do you take a (academic or administrative) decision, in terms of the administrative procedures, the chain of approval? To whom are you accountable?

10. Do senior academic staff members have administrative responsibilities or only academic roles?
Are administrative and academic careers equally prestigious?

11. And vice versa, do administrators have academic responsibilities?

12. What would you identify as most important if you want to make a career within the University?

Division of labour

13. Are you satisfied with the level of responsibility? Do your qualifications, experience and skills correspond with your rank? Is the level and content of your work meeting your expectations?

14. Could you describe how you handle your work? The administrative rules and procedures you follow; the way you exert authority; your relationships with male/female subordinates, colleagues, and superiors. Access to formal and informal networks. Do senior staff members involve you in decision-making situations?

15. What in your current work is contributing to or enhancing your career opportunities? What enhances your chances for promotion? Is anything hampering your career advancement?

16. What (within your work environment) would you identify as most supportive to your career advancement?

17. Do you feel satisfied with the outcomes of your work? Could you do better? Why?

18. Do you work full-time? Do you take work with you to do at home? How do your spouse, children, family members feel about that? Are you allowed to work at home?

19. What are your experiences with the senior management? Do you feel fully supported or discriminated against in your work? Are your qualifications known by superior officers? How are you treated by superiors? Do you get the necessary information or other resources from your superior officers? Is your advice being sought by the senior staff?

University management practices

20. How are you informed about decisions taken by superiors and/or university bodies? What type of decisions are regularly made and what is their impact on you?

21. Do you always understand or know the reasons for decisions which have been taken?

22. What are your experiences with information exchange, formally and informally? How do you exchange information with superior officers and colleagues (the organization of meetings, memos, administrative circulars, etc.)?

23. Would you say that male and female staff contribute equally to staff meetings (language use, behaviour, time to speak, interruptions, are suggestions and recommendations taken equally into account, etc.)? Do you get the opportunity to speak?

24. What are your experiences with management practices regarding recruitment, performance appraisal, promotion, incentives? How were you recruited? How is performance evaluated, by whom? What are the criteria?

25. Can you apply for a promotion or do you need to be invited?

26. What is the reward system of the University? How is performance rewarded?

27. As regards career advancement, do you feel actively encouraged by the senior management, for instance through training and development, opportunities for management roles, new work experiences/responsibilities, staff exchange opportunities?

28. Would you be willing to move if a promotion required such?

29. Is it easy for a woman in India to make a career?

Appendix 2

Distribution of faculty by gender, School of Computer and Systems Sciences

	Professor	Associate Professor	Assistant Professor	Total
Male	10	3	2	15
Female			2	2

Source: Telephone Directory 1996.

Distribution of faculty by gender, School of Environmental Sciences

	Professor	Associate Professor	Assistant Professor	Total
Male	10	7	3	20
Female	1	1		2
Sub-total	11	8	3	22

Source: Telephone Directory 1996.

Distribution of faculty by gender, School of International Studies

	Professor		Associate professor		Assistant professor		Total	
Centre	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
American and West-European studies	4		2		2	1	8	1
Diplomacy, International law and economics	8		5		3		16	
East-Asian studies	4			1	1	2	5	3
International politics and disarmament	3	2	4				8	2
Soviet studies	4		4	2	2		9	2
South-East Asian studies	6		6	2	2		12	2
West-Asian and African countries	5		3	1	1		11	1
Total	34	2	24	6	11	3	69	11

Source: Telephone Directory 1996.

Gender-wise distribution of Faculty School of Life Sciences

	Professor	Associate Professor	Assistant Professor	Total
Male	14	6	1	21
Female	4	2		6
Sub-total	18	8	1	27

Source: Telephone Directory 1996.

Gender-wise distribution of Faculty School of Physical Sciences

	Professor	Associate Professor	Assistant Professor	Total
Male	4	5	3	12
Female		1		1
Sub-total	4	6	3	13

Source: Telephone Directory 1996.

Gender-wise distribution of Faculty School Social Sciences

	Professor		Associate professor		Assistant professor		Total	
Centre	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Economic studies	8	3	6	1	1	1	15	5
Historical studies	11	4	8	2	2	1	21	7
Regional development	9	3	6		1	1	16	4
Political studies	5	2	3	3	3		11	5
Social systems	8		3		1	2	12	2
Science policy	1	1					1	1
Social medicine				2	2	2	2	4
Educational studies	2	2	1			1	3	3
Biotechnology	2		3		3		8	
Total	46	15	30	8	13	8	89	31

Source: Telephone Directory 1996.

Gender-wise distribution of Faculty School of Languages

Centre	Professor		Associate professor		Assistant professor		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Arabic-studies	2		3		1		6	
Persian	2	1		1	2		4	2
Japanese	1		2	1	1	4	4	5
Chinese			1	1	4	1	5	2
French	2	1	3	3	2	3	7	7
German	3		4	1	1	4	8	5
Indian language	4		3		2		9	
English	3	1	2	3	2		7	4
Russian	10	1	1	1	2	2	13	4
Spanish	3				3	2	6	2
Total	30	4	19	11	20	16	69	31

Source: Telephone Directory 1996.

Gender-wise distribution of faculty, all schools

School	Professor		Associate professor		Assistant professor		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
SIS	34	2	24	6	11	3	69	11
SSS	46	15	30	8	13	8	89	31
SL	30	4	19	11	20	16	69	31
SES	10	1	7	1	3		20	2
SLS	14	4	6	2	1		21	6
SPS	4		5	1	3		12	1
SC and SS	10		3		2	2	15	2
Total	148	26	96	29	53	29	295	84

Source: Telephone Directory 1996.

Appendix 3
Possible areas of reflection

1. To what extent are the *organization's procedures and working conditions* adapted to the practical needs of women? That is, to what extent are women's double responsibilities recognized and accepted? Both men and women at all levels of the organization need to become aware of the ways in which women are disadvantaged, and both need to gain insight into the underlying factors. What kind of activities may lessen the current (reproductive) workload of women in relation to their family responsibilities, for instance, creche facilities, so that women (or men) lose less time in bringing and picking up their children? Also, the management of space and time, activities, and resources needs to be reassessed, giving women more flexibility in how they use their time, where they want to work, as well as consideration for their household and family tasks, when scheduling meetings and training.

2. What is the impact of *management styles and practices* on men and women? What kind of management control mechanisms are used; anger, psychological abuse (such as withholding positive attention or approval, interrupting, not listening, ignoring women), and gender role issues (such as controlling resources, women's mobility)? Are management actions and interactions non-oppressive? Egalitarian ways of working need to be explored. Are women encouraged to develop female networks to support and promote other women?

3. To what extent does the organization use masculine ways of behaving and *masculine values* which reinforce masculinity within the management of the institution and which exclude women? New ways of working in mixed-gender groups and different communication patterns need to be explored. Do managers at all levels recognize the valuable resource that women represent and do they possess the attitudes and expertise to use them effectively?

4. Are women *seen and treated as professionals*, are women's skills recognized and valued? Are women solicited for their views on qualities, abilities, and skills of senior posts? Are women encouraged to take up public responsibilities such as delivering lectures, committee memberships, participating in seminars, travelling abroad, etc?

5. To what extent are *performance criteria* gender-related, i.e. are 'male' characteristics valued and 'female' traits devalued; are criteria used linked to a person's capability of being free from reproductive responsibilities, i.e. time devoted to work at the workplace, being present at meetings?

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The booklet

Historically, women had little role in the conceptualization and organization of the university. The fact that increasing numbers of women are working in higher education institutions makes it essential for managers to reflect on the impact of the masculine bias which prevails in some organizations, on both male and female staff, and its impact on organizational efficiency.

This booklet sets out to show why gender is important in the management of higher education institutions. It explains that organizational culture and management practices, often considered to be neutral, are in fact gender-linked. Institutional efforts towards a more efficient and effective use of human resources often fail because they are based on what is considered as gender-neutral premises. A full understanding of the fact that socially constructed responsibilities and images of women are in some cases incompatible with the existing masculine organization is necessary to promote change and achieve better use of human resources. Senior managers need to be committed to take into consideration an increased understanding of the gender nature of the problem.

The booklet intends to raise awareness with regard to problems which are often not recognized, and therefore not identified. It is hoped that its findings will be useful for those in charge of higher education institutions.

The author

Anna E.M. Smulders, Educational Consultant, was a Resident Fellow at the International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP) in Paris from 1995 to 1997, where she worked on a number of research projects. Prior to that, she worked as a Programme Manager for the UNDP in Guinea Bissau, West Africa, for two years (1993-1995), where she provided technical assistance in the areas of functional literacy for women and gender and development. Her current research interests include quality improvement of education and gender-inclusive human resources management. She holds a Masters' degree from Leiden University.

International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP)
7-9 rue Eugène-Delacroix, 75116 Paris, France

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